563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 The great mass of the population consists of the agri-
162 culturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race,
144 more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are
[463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The
[141] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

144 more northerly regions and with the Forest Bantu and Interlacustrine Bantu and comes to the following conclusions: the Batwa are not a homogeneous group, but consist of elements taken from the Pygmies, the Bantu of the primeval forest and, to a lesser degree, the Interlacustrine Bantu also; among the Batwa of the volcanic region the Pygmy type predominates; among those of central Ruanda, the Interlacustrine Bantu type. This latter fact, according to my observations, is also true of Urundi. A surprising fact about the Batwa and one which was demonstrated by Czekanowski is that they show traces of a dolichocephalic Bushman-like element. This trait in conjunction with slight stature has turned up frequently in the works of other observers of East Africa and attracted Czekanowski's attention, especially in the area of Kilimanjaro. Originally the Batwa were "dwarfs," but their body type gradually changed through the admixture of Bantu blood. The farther north we meet Batwa, toward the racially pure Pygmies of the Ituri, the stronger are their pygmoid characteristics; most strongly so among the Batwa of Idschwi Island of Lake Kivu where they are well sheltered from outside influences (No. 31a, 101-109).

[162] Since according to official data the Batwa are only one per cent and the Batussi only about three per cent of the total population of Urundi, the numerical predominance of the Bahutu-Bantu is so great that they entirely determine the overall impression one gets of the Barundi people. Moreover, the Bahutu and also the relatively few Batussi who rule them are somatically, mentally, and culturally so homogeneous throughout Urundi that deviations from the average type are met with only rarely in this great country, excepting those of mixed Bahima blood mentioned above. Of course the Barundi people owe this homogeneity above all to their strict centuries-old seclusion from the outside world. The border areas farthest west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River might have worked considerable changes on the Barundi tribes living there, for they do have a much warmer lowland climate, and the great lake might have caused adaptive changes in the way of life of the inhabitants. Moreover, the neighboring Congo tribes are a quite different sort of people. However, even here, no such

161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are relatively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

162 563

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites, diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

161

161 133

[Text continues on page 29]

2: Meyer--293 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

●162

Population Map according to K. Weule, the northern section supplemented according to Czekanowski.

1. Bantu, no other groups superimposed (Basic or Original Bantu, "Older" Bantu according to Baumann). Bantu of the inter-lacustrine region with predominantly Hamitic political systems superimposed (Bahima States). (a) Speaking their original language
2. Banjaruanda, Barundi, Baha. (b) Speaking Kinjoro
3. Banjoro, Banjankole, Banjámbo, Basiba, Bassuwi, Basindja.
4. Bakondjo.
5. Batwa (Pygmies).
6. Baganda,
7. Wagaja (Nilotes).

[End map, lower right, in color]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

The world in which men are placed and which they know through their senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, creatures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic reorientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [148] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

000 fellow-tribesmen.

● 162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135] Chapter 7

Occupations

241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

1. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE Kingdom of Ruanda lies within latitudes 1° 20′ to 2° 50′ south and longitudes 28° 50′ to 30° 55′ east. Physically it is a part of the elongated highland zone extending at varying elevations from the Red Sea to Lake Nyasa. This East African highland zone is characterized by large blocks of upland and the giant cracks of the rift valley system.

Ruanda is situated on the western border of the central region of this zone. It is a high plateau in which numerous rivers cut deep valleys separating a multitude of hills. The main feature of Ruanda orography is the chain of mountains with an elevation from 2,250 to 3,000 metres (6,750 to 9,000 feet) which separates the Congo and Nile drainage basins. This has a north-south trend approximately fifteen to twenty-five miles east of Lake Kivu (elevation: 1,460 metres or 4,380 feet) and forms, with the northern part of the Ruzizi river, the western boundary of Ruanda. From this mountainous chain to the east, elevations fall gradually to the Kagera River Valley, the eastern limit of Ruanda. The greater part of the Kagera here consists of swamps which may be as much as sixteen miles broad. The elevation of the region along the Kagera is from 1,300 to 1,500 metres (3,900 to 4,500 feet).

The northern boundaries of the country are not as clearly defined by physical factors, except in the west by the Virunga volcanic massif including eight peaks, the highest of which, Karisimbi, reaches 4,507 metres (14,873 feet). The Akanyaru and Lua rivers—which form part of the southern border of the kingdom, separating it from its Burundi neighbour—cannot be considered as natural frontiers, as they are not difficult to cross.[1] Ruanda's relief, together with its central situation in Africa

[1] The present-day political boundaries of Ruanda do not include the whole territory which was politically and culturally part of the kingdom in the past. There are Ruanda populations in the north, in the Kivu Province of the Belgian Congo (between the actual border and Rutshuru), and in the Kigezi District of Uganda (along the actual border).

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orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[8] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and iron-workers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[9]

[8] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[9] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not overexploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.